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NOTE

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

Documents of the Security Council (symbol S/ . . .) are normally published in quarterly *Supplements* of the *Official Record of the Security Council.* The date of the document indicates the supplement in which it appears or in which information about it is given.

The resolutions of the Security Council, numbered in accordance with a system adopted in 1964, are published in yearly volumes of *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council.* The new system, which has been applied retroactively to resolutions adopted before 1 January 1965, became fully operative on that date.

2571st MEETING

Held in New York on F iday, 8 March 1985, at 3 p.m.

President: Mr. Blaise RABETAFIKA (Madagascar).

Present: The representatives of the following States: Australia, Burkina Faso, China, Denmark, Egypt, France, India, Madagascar, Peru, Thailand, Trinidad and Tobago, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2571)

1. Adoption of the agenda

2. The question of South Africa:
   Letter dated 28 February 1985 from the Deputy Permanent Representative of Egypt to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/16991)

The meeting was called to order at 3.50 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The question of South Africa:
Letter dated 28 February 1985 from the Deputy Permanent Representative of Egypt to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/16991)

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I wish to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Democratic Yemen, Guinea, South Africa, the Syrian Arab Republic, the United Republic of Tanzania and Viet Nam in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Coumbassa (Guinea) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Al-Alfi (Democratic Yemen), Mr. von Schirnding (South Africa), Mr. El-Fattal (Syrian Arab Republic), Mr. Lweno (United Republic of Tanzania) and Mr. Le Kim Chung (Viet Nam) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

2. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The Security Council is meeting today in response to a request addressed to the President of the Council b the representative of Egypt in his capacity as Chairman of the Group of African States for the month of February, in a letter dated 28 February.

3. Members of the Council have before them document S/17013, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by Burkina Faso, Egypt, India, Madagascar, Peru and Trinidad and Tobago.

4. I wish also to draw the attention of Council members to document S/17009, which contains the text of a letter dated 6 March, addressed to the Secretary-General by the representative of India.

5. The first speaker is the representative of Guinea, who wishes to make a statement in his capacity as Chairman of the Group of African States for the month of March. I now call on him.

6. Mr. COUMBASSA (Guinea) (*interpretation from French*): I wish first of all, Sir, to express to you, on behalf of the Group of African States and on my own behalf, our warm congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of March. This gives me particular pleasure as you represent a fraternal country, a great country, Madagascar, which has been ennobled in the struggle for freedom and dignity. Who, then, could be better placed than you, Sir, to understand the tragedy now being played out in South Africa? We are fully aware of your great diplomatic skills, and—without, of course, prejudging the Council's decision—the Group of African States remains convinced that you will be able, unambiguously and calmly, to shoulder your responsibilities in the struggle against *apartheid*.

7. I wish also to pay a tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Natarajan Krishnan of India, for the remarkable skill with which he organized and guided the Council's debates last month.

8. I cannot fail also sincerely to thank you, Sir, and the members of the Council for having kindly invited me to make a statement in my capacity as Chairman of the Group of African States.

9. The Group wishes to raise up its voice in unquestioning support of justice and in unflagging faith in the defeat of *apartheid*. The Council is meeting today to consider the very serious situation of South Africa: the proponents of *apartheid* have been brandishing so-called constitutional reforms, organizing massive repression, carrying out arbitrary arrests followed by detention without trial, and

removing, against their will, the defenceless inhabitants of Crossroads and other black townships to resettle them in more arid zones. The struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa is not only the struggle of the African continent; it is also, and above all, the struggle of every man, of every woman, of all mankind. That is why collusion with the Pretoria régime is a crime against the black people of South Africa, against the entire African continent, against all mankind. This collusion need not be manifested in deeds to exist. Whether it takes the form of abdication of responsibility, of abstention, or of non-participation, it remains perceptible; and the Charter of the United Nations requires that it come to an end. The time has come for the peoples of the world, who declared in 1945 that they were determined to safeguard international peace and security, to put an end to Pretoria's racist tyranny by countering its poisonous and draining ideology with the more human and life-giving ideology of the equality of men and of races.

10. Racism, to lull its conscience, has cast about for justifications. The form known as *apartheid* is based on the colour of the skin in order to hold sway, to exploit and to kill pitilessly and on a massive scale.

11. Several decades ago, when mankind emerged from the holocaust of the Second World War and committed itself resolutely to establish a new world order, the neo-Nazis of South Africa vowed their determination to resist the winds of change. That is the fundamental reason for these parodies of constitutional reform, for the violence at Crossroads, for the hunting down of militants and leaders of liberation movements and for the massive carnage which has bathed in blood more than one place in South Africa.

12. There is no further need to prove the aberrant nature of these deceptions. Whether it is called fascism or *apartheid*, racism is still an expression of contempt for mankind. One would have to be ignorant of the ancient and modern history of mankind to believe that a people can be forced to its knees with impunity or that the international community can be defied endlessly. In the end, like a bee drowning in its own honey, the Pretoria régime will be undone by its own handiwork. The recent events at Crossroads prove clearly that the racist régime of South Africa really believes that it can bring the liberation movements to heel and perpetuate its régime of oppression.

13. *Apartheid* cannot be reformed; it must be rooted out. That is why it is imperative for the international community to keep up and increase its pressure to force Pretoria to respect the legitimate rights of the South African people.

14. Only the elimination of *apartheid* and the establishment of a democratic and non-racial society based on inter-community dialogue within the framework of universal suffrage exercised by all can lead to a just solution of the painful problem of South Africa. That is why the Group of African States vigorously opposes all forms of collusion and subterfuge, which seek to keep putting off indefinitely the advent of a democratic and non-racial society in South Africa.

15. There must never be any doubt of the Group of African States' support for the decisions that will be taken here, convinced as we are that they will be motivated by the desire to respect human rights and fundamental freedoms for all. For nearly half a century, the Organization has stood as the guarantor of international peace and security. I know that its victories have already been many. Nevertheless, one great deed must still be added to its laurels, and that is the elimination of *apartheid*. With the help of your lucidity and wisdom, Sir, there can be no doubt that the days of *apartheid* are numbered.

16. Mr. VERMA (India): Sir, the Security Council has now met three times on three different issues in the first eight days of your presidency. That is indeed an impressive presidential record. We would like you to know, once again, that while the frequency of our meetings in recent days is a sad commentary on the current international situation, we are fortunate to have in the Chair the benefit of your dynamism, sense of responsibility and diplomatic skill. We have full confidence in your ability to shoulder the burden cast upon you and reiterate to you our pledge of co-operation.

17. May I also express a word of thanks, on behalf of my delegation and on Mr. Krishnan's personal behalf, for the kind and appreciative references made to his presidency of the Council for the month of February during the debate in the Council yesterday afternoon as well as by the preceding speaker today.

18. This is the third time in the last seven months that the Council has met to consider the situation in South Africa, an item that has prompted so many other meetings of the Council in the past and engaged so much global concern and attention. That so much of the Council's time and energy should be spent on this question is hardly surprising. As long as the scourge of *apartheid* remains in South Africa, the Council will be obliged to meet again and again. *Apartheid* lies at the root of the serious threat to peace and security that continues to exist in southern Africa, whether it be by way of the humiliation and repression unleashed by the racist régime upon the majority community in South Africa, South Africa's continued illegal occupation of Namibia, or Pretoria's repeated acts of aggression, interference and destabilization directed against independent African States. Pretoria's primary motivation behind all these transgressions of the Charter of the United Nations and international law is its obsession with preserving and consolidating *apartheid*, which the international community has declared a crime against humanity.

19. The position of the non-aligned countries—on whose behalf it is my honour to speak—on the question of *apartheid* is well known, and it is not my intention to spell that out once again at length this afternoon. While the general question of *apartheid* will remain a matter of perennial concern until that abhorrent system is completely eradicated, of immediate concern to the Council today are the particularly grave developments of recent days. Among them is the indiscriminate murder by the

forces of the racist régime of innocent men, women and children at Crossroads and other places—people who were protesting their forced removal and resettlement in the infamous bantustans. Among them also is the arbitrary arrest of a large number of leaders and members of the United Democratic Front (UDF) and other mass organizations, as well as the preferment of high treason charges against many of them for their participation in the peaceful mass movement for a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa.

20. The Co-ordinating Bureau of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries met in urgent session in New York on 6 March to consider, *inter alia*, the grave developments in South Africa to which I have just alluded and issued a communiqué which has been circulated as a Security Council document. Allow me to quote from it the following extracts:

[*The speaker read out paragraphs 2 to 7 of the text contained in document S/17009.*]

21. The aforementioned communiqué is a clear and unequivocal expression of the Non-Aligned Movement on the question before us today.

22. I would like formally to introduce to the Council the draft resolution contained in document S/17013. This draft resolution is sponsored by all six non-aligned members of the Council—Burkina Faso, Egypt, India, Madagascar, Peru and Trinidad and Tobago. We believe that it encapsulates all the aspects of immediate concern and the principles that the Council must uphold, even if the text does not go as far as its sponsors would have liked it to do. In the interest of securing the maximum possible support, the sponsors have made significant efforts to accommodate the concerns of others. We hope that this text will enjoy the support of all delegations around this table.

23. There is a peculiar and poignant significance that lies in the name of the township in South Africa that has been so prominently and tragically in the news in recent days and to which I have referred earlier in my statement. The name, of course, is Crossroads. We believe that for a long time now the Security Council has been at a crossroads on this question. Racist South Africa has continued to fling defiance before the Council. It is high time that the Council decide what path it should take from this crossroads—the path towards imposition of suitable enforcement measures against Pretoria, which we believe is the correct path, or a path which could only serve to push South Africa and southern Africa as a whole closer to the kind of violence which all of us would wish to avoid. If South Africa does not mend its ways, the Council will have to make that critical choice.

24. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania, who wishes to make a statement in his capacity as representative of the current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

25. Mr. LWENO (United Republic of Tanzania): On behalf of Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, President of the United Republic of Tanzania and current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), allow me, Sir, to express my sincere congratulations to you on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month. Your election is a well-deserved recognition of your abilities. You have, in the course of your long and exemplary diplomatic career, come to personify the commitment of your country, Madagascar, to the struggle for freedom and justice in the world. I am confident therefore that as the Council takes up consideration of the urgent question before it, you will provide the requisite leadership.

26. At the same time, I want to convey our appreciation to your predecessor, the representative of India, who was President of the Council last month.

27. The Council has been convened to consider the current escalation of violence by the *apartheid* régime against the black people of South Africa. The killing of innocent African demonstrators at Crossroads and other places, the arrest of and preferment of high treason charges against some leaders of the United Democratic Front are but part of a grimmer picture of the situation inside South Africa. At its thirty-ninth session, the General Assembly expressed its condemnation of the institution on the part of the régime of the various insidious measures aimed at entrenching racist oppression and perpetuating *apartheid* [*resolution 39/2 of 28 September 1984*].

28. *Apartheid* is an evil system. The General Assembly, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, the OAU and the entire international community recognize that system as a crime against humanity. It poses a threat to international peace and security. It is therefore within the framework of the international consensus that concrete measures should be taken to force the *apartheid* régime to abandon its evil policies.

29. Since the latest General Assembly session, the forty-first session of the Council of Ministers of the OAU, which ended early this week at Addis Ababa, and the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries have reiterated their condemnation of the most recent escalation of *apartheid* violence. Yet, the repeated condemnation of the policy of *apartheid*, the measures adopted and the appeals for constructive dialogue launched by the OAU and the United Nations to bring an end to racial conflict have all been arrogantly rejected by the *apartheid* régime. Instead, the international community is presented with more wanton killings of innocent and defenceless men, women and children whose sin is simply to protest their forced removal from their homes.

30. The régime, in its stepped-up violence, has also resorted to mass arrests. The preferment of high treason charges against those leaders of the UDF bespeaks of the non-preparedness of the *apartheid* régime for peaceful change inside South Africa. This inherently aggressive nature of the régime is also reflected in its policy towards neighbouring independent African countries.

31. By employing a combination of pressures against the neighbouring African countries, the régime hopes to reverse those victories scored following years of armed struggle. The military attacks and other forms of destabilization against Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Swaziland and Zambia have failed to achieve their purpose—namely, the creation of subservient political structures in those countries which would be less hostile to *apartheid*. This, combined with a blitz of propaganda abroad and political manoeuvring within South Africa, has still not daunted the resolve of the black people of South Africa and the international community to oppose *apartheid*.

32. Unfortunately, those empty promises of change have been echoed in many parts of the world and, also unfortunately, exploited by the detractors of African freedom to relax international pressure against the régime. But over the last year it has become clear even to those ardent supporters of *apartheid*. The so-called reforms being worked out by the racist régime have been unmasked for what they are—an orchestrated campaign of deception, an attempt to divide the internal opposition to *apartheid* and to confuse its external opponents.

33. In this regard, we commend the rejection by Comrade Nelson Mandela of the transparent scheme of the *apartheid* régime to offer him conditional release. His rejection of sham freedom predicated upon the abandonment of the struggle against *apartheid* should be a source of encouragement to all those who are struggling for freedom and justice in the world. The Council must therefore demand his immediate and unconditional release.

34. What is taking place at Crossroads and in other areas where the removals policy is being implemented is the reality in *apartheid* South Africa. Already, over 2 million people are under threat of being uprooted and relocated, in addition to the more than 4 million already banished to homelands.

35. But, put in context, it must be realized that the removals policy now being ruthlessly applied is part of the larger scheme of *apartheid* to denationalize the black people, institute bantustans and proceed to foment fratricidal conflict within the black population, not only within South Africa but also in all of southern Africa. This is the emerging angle of *apartheid*. The setting up, training and arming of the tribal armies is aimed at achieving this purpose. Indeed, how can one explain the threats of war being made by bantustans against independent neighbouring States? This is the long-term objective of the régime, which the Council must not permit.

36. All this notwithstanding, we are encouraged that over the last year significant progress has been made on the political front. Campaigns of mobilization for the boycott of *apartheid* have gained momentum, and the world at large has become more aware of the atrocities of the obnoxious system of *apartheid*. We note with encouragement the growing campaign in favour of disinvestment and other measures, and we must continue to encourage such action. Correspondingly, the international community, and indeed the Council, must come out in clear support of such measures and others which will compel the régime to abandon *apartheid*. On our part, we members of the OAU, we in Africa, will continue to insist that nothing short of the imposition of effective measures under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations will compel the régime to abandon its obnoxious policies.

37. *Apartheid*, as an evil system, has to employ violence to survive. Hence, in opposing the current spate of violence, the Council must not be found wanting in its resolve to dismantle *apartheid* altogether. In the meantime, the Council has to demand that the Pretoria régime put an immediate end to forced removals of black people from their homes. The Council must uphold the legitimacy of the struggle and demand that the racist régime withdraw the treason charges against those charged and grant them immediate and unconditional release.

38. It is not the first time—neither will it be the last—that the régime has killed or imposed treason charges against those who dare challenge it, even if they use peaceful means. Those leaders of the UDF who face imminent death have attracted the attention of the international community because of their high visibility. But to those victims of *apartheid* whose names never come out in the world press, the Council owes action. For the innocent children who are mowed down by the *apartheid* gunmen, the Council owes an explanation.

39. Will the Council remain forever indifferent to the killings, the maimings of black people, including women and children, of South Africa? The Council must act, and act now.

40. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I wish to inform the members of the Council that I have received from the Acting Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* a letter dated 8 March, which reads as follows:

> "With reference to the letter dated 28 February from the representative of Egypt addressed to the President of the Security Council, I have the honour to request the Council to permit me, in my capacity as Acting Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, to participate, under the provisions of rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure, in the Council's consideration of the item 'The question of South Africa'."

41. I understand that Mr. Joseph Garba, Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, had not anticipated returning so soon from the mission he has carried out on behalf of the Special Committee and that he has authorized the Acting Chairman to speak on his behalf.

42. On previous occasions the Council has extended invitations to representatives of other bodies of the United Nations in connection with the consideration of items on its agenda. In accordance with past practice in this matter, I propose that, pursuant to rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure, the Council extend an invitation to the Acting Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*.

It was so decided.

43. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I invite the Acting Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, Mr. Serge Charles, to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

44. Mr. CHARLES, Acting Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* (*interpretation from French*): On behalf of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, may I address to you, Mr. President, and the members of the Council, my deepest thanks for permitting me to take part in this debate on the critical situation currently prevailing in South Africa. I take this opportunity also to echo previous speakers in paying a tribute to you, Sir, for your wisdom and your competence, and to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of March. I am particularly pleased to do this because you represent a country whose solidarity with peoples struggling against colonialism and racism is well known.

45. Before proceeding to the substance of my remarks, I should like to read out the following message addressed to the President of the Security Council by Bishop Tutu, the Noble Prize Laureate:

> "We hope very much that the Security Council, which is meeting today, will take note of what is happening in South Africa.
>
> "An organization, the UDF, which has constantly worked for peaceful change and done so within the legal perimeters of this country's laws, now has had its leaders detained. This clearly indicates that vigorous and effective opposition against *apartheid* is considered by the Government as treasonable activity. It makes nonsense of the South Africa State President's offer to talk with the ANC [African National Congress of South Africa] and those political prisoners who accept his offer of conditional release.
>
> "The UDF is an organization which has not espoused violence, but even so the authorities are seeking to undermine it. It is a mockery of facts to say that these men have been charged under the law.
>
> "In truth, the Government is charging them only to avoid the odium of detaining them without trial. The arrested leaders cannot obtain bail if the Attorney General issues a certificate that they must not be given bail.
>
> "Thus, the question of bail is not left to the decision of the Supreme Court as State President Botha said in his reply to Senator Edward Kennedy's message.
>
> "I hope the international community will express its abhorrence of the South Africa Government's actions in preventing peaceful opposition to its vicious policies."*

* Quoted by the speaker in English.

46. As everyone here knows, the question of the policy of *apartheid*, now before the Council, is one of the items which goes back furthest in the history of the Organization and, at the same time, it is one of the most disquieting items. In the eyes of the international community, *apartheid* is a serious challenge which must be met by all available means in view of the threat it poses to the foundations of our civilization, which is based on the principles of universal morality. Unfortunately, all the efforts that have been made to solve the problem in a just and peaceful way and in keeping with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights have so far proved fruitless. Worse still, the situation has even deteriorated seriously because of Pretoria's clear determination to put down by violence any attempt on the part of the African to claim his right to freedom, equality and human dignity.

47. Proof of this is the bloody repression recently visited by Pretoria on defenceless demonstrators, including women and children, whose only crime was that they spoke out against the inhuman policy of *apartheid*. The toll: more than 200 dead and 1,200 seriously wounded.

48. Apart from these acts of massive repression, the Pretoria régime continues to build up the military arsenal through which it maintains its domination over the majority, and it continues its illegal occupation of Namibia and attempts to impose its hegemony over the neighbouring States.

49. At the same time, Pretoria has embarked upon a series of manoeuvres designed to sow confusion in the ranks of the liberation movement and in international public opinion. The most recent manoeuvre is undoubtedly Mr. Botha's proposal to consider a formula whereby political rights—very limited ones—would be granted to those blacks who are established in the outskirts of urban areas. Of course, that proposal—like the new racist constitution—has been rejected by the oppressed people of South Africa as well as by the international community. The Special Committee against *Apartheid* was not taken in either and, through its Chairman, on 6 February this year denounced this further delaying tactic, which it declared to be invalid.

50. It is against that background that we should also view the rejection by Nelson Mandela, a symbol of the resistance, of the offer of liberation that was made to him provided that he renounce violence. Here again, this is simply a ploy designed to divide the liberation movement and thus to thwart the ascent towards freedom and independence. The sole purpose of all these machinations is to strengthen the system of *apartheid*, in violation of the principle of the right of peoples to self-determination, a principle that is today universally accepted.

51. Because of its conviction that *apartheid*, like nazism, cannot be reformed, the Special Committee resolves to foil the manoeuvres of the racist régime, which can make itself felt only through terror. There can be no question of compromise with a system which is the expression of

manifest violence. In this connection, the Special Committee endorses the following statement by Mr. Mandela:

> "Let Botha give up violence. Let him say that he is going to end *apartheid*. Let him remove the ban on the people's organization, the African National Congress. Let him release those who are in prison, those who have been banished or exiled because of their opposition to *apartheid*. Let him guarantee the free exercise of political activities so that the people may choose their own leaders."

52. Taken unawares, Pretoria by way of reply has shed the mask of reformism and has plunged even further into repression, which, quite apart from the hundreds of those killed and wounded, has led to mass arrests of leaders of political organizations, including those of the UDF who have been accused of treason. We demand their immediate and unconditional release, as well as the release of all other political detainees.

53. We are more than ever convinced that southern Africa cannot enjoy peace and stability unless *apartheid* is completely eradicated and all the inhabitants of South Africa—without any distinction as to race, colour or creed—are enabled to exercise their right to self-determination.

54. At the outset of my remarks I referred to the fact that the question of *apartheid* was one of the items that had been inscribed on the agenda of the Organization the longest—and I do not think it is to its credit that it continues to recur without the least glimmer of hope that it will be solved in the near future.

55. As long ago as 1963, the Council stated its conviction that the situation in South Africa was a serious threat to international peace and security.

56. Surely today the Council cannot remain unmoved by the serious threat to peace inherent in the situation in South Africa when, throughout the world, voices have been raised demanding that an end be put to this iniquitous system. This principal body with responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security cannot shirk the responsibilities vested in it under the Charter. Therefore, on behalf of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, I appeal to the members of the Council to adopt unanimously the draft resolution introduced by India on behalf of the African and non-aligned members of the Council.

57. There are times in history when wisdom and political far-sightedness demand that we anticipate foreseeable disasters by taking some kind of peaceful preventive action. I am quite certain that most of us harbour no doubt that such a moment has now arrived. We must therefore act right now with faith and conviction so that we do not let another day pass when we have to be subjected to the law of violence and racial lawlessness.

58. Mr. HOGUE (Australia): As this is the first time we have spoken on *apartheid* since Australia became a member of the Council, I should like to put my Government's views clearly on the record.

59. It is sometimes argued by the supporters of *apartheid* that many countries which criticize South Africa are themselves guilty of human rights abuses and that South Africa is no worse than many of its critics. Such an argument is not directly relevant to the central problem of *apartheid*. South Africa is unique in many ways, but most importantly because in that country a non-representative minority Government has institutionalized racial discrimination and has backed that system, *apartheid*, with a range of Draconian security legislation. *Apartheid*, through its denial of basic human rights and freedoms, creates confrontation among South Africans and between South Africa and its neighbouring States. *Apartheid* is the basic cause of instability and tension in South Africa. Its destabilizing influence affects regional and international affairs and has introduced to the international arena an unwelcome and dangerous element of racism. For those reasons, it is the responsibility of the Council to address the problem of *apartheid*.

60. *Apartheid* is a system based on the colour of a person's skin. It imposes crippling limits on the opportunities for so-called non-whites in all fields of human activity, as well as infringes their basic freedoms and human dignity. It is a system which separates wives from their husbands and parents from their children. It denies full citizenship to the majority of the population of South Africa, institutes inequality before the law and imposes social discrimination backed by the State.

61. Australia has followed with concern the recent unrest and ultimately tragic violence at the Crossroads settlement near Cape Town. My Government strongly condemns the violence and deeply regrets the tragic loss of 18 lives. We are unambiguously opposed to any policies of the forcible removal of people against their will. The South African Government's policies of forced resettlement are to be condemned. My Government hopes that the recent statements of the South African Government concerning leasehold rights for black people will be given real substance and that the South African Government will act decisively to ease tension and fully respect the wishes of the people in the area regarding their future.

62. The recent incidents in Cape Town are but another example of the violence which *apartheid* engenders in its attempts to enforce the artificial separation of racial groups in South Africa. The incident in Cape Town are not isolated; there have been many others in the past. They are he end-product of a deeply unjust system which attempts to resettle black people in so-called homelands. Over the years, the policy of resettlement has resulted in more than 3.5 million people being forced to leave their homes for a bleak future in the "homelands".

63. The recent arrest of leading members of the UDF, trade unionists and community leaders, and their being charged with treason, are matters of very serious concern. The UDF is a broadly based organization made up of church, trade-union, student and community groups. It is opposed to the South African Government's so-called

constitutional reforms. It seeks to dismantle *apartheid* and to bring about change within South Africa by peaceful means.

64. The South African Government has stated that it seeks to establish dialogue with the black community, but its actions in arresting and detaining its political opponents, including keeping leading members of the UDF in prison for an extended period awaiting trial, demonstrate its continuing intolerance of legitimate political opposition and its determination to intimidate extra-parliamentary dissent.

65. The banning or imprisonment of many of the Government's political opponents makes a mockery of the South African Government's professed intent to widen participation in the political process. While the South African Government claims publicly to be committed to a process of reform and dialogue with the black community, it detains the very leaders who represent the black community's legitimate concerns and aspirations. Nelson Mandela, the President of the African National Congress of South Africa, is, of course, the most well-known opponent to be denied his freedom. But there are many others who are or have been detained with or without trial for their opposition to *apartheid*.

66. Australia calls for the early release of all those imprisoned or banned on political grounds, so that the South African Government can turn towards a genuine dialogue with representative leaders of all the black population of South Africa.

67. My Government remains unequivocally opposed to *apartheid*. We are bound to note that the essential and fundamental elements of *apartheid* remain unchanged as the basis of political and social development in South Africa. Until it becomes clear that the Government in South Africa is moving to introduce fundamental reforms that will satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the black community, the Australian Government will not be able to give credence to the South African Government's so-called reform proposals.

68. The goal of all South Africans must be to work for the creation of a system of government which brings about the abolition of *apartheid* and grants equal rights to all its citizens irrespective of race. My Government believes that this objective should be achieved through dialogue and negotiation, and that the continuing course of confrontation pursued by the South African Government can only lead to disaster.

69. The draft resolution before the Council addresses itself squarely to many of the elements I have identified in these remarks. It deals with many of the worst aspects of the *apartheid* system: forced removals, detentions and bannings, police repression and dubious reforms. My Government supports the draft resolution and urges the South African Government to heed its terms.

70. Mr. BIERRING (Denmark): Once more, the tide of violence has risen in South Africa. Starting in Crossroads and spreading to squatter camps near Kimberley, Port Elizabeth and other South African cities, the anger and despair of the oppressed black population has erupted, and the world has witnessed anew a now familiar sight: the police moving in, using tear-gas, bird shot and rubber bullets. When the police left, hundreds of blacks were dead or wounded.

71. Following the outbreak of violence in the squatter camps, the South African security police arrested and detained several prominent leaders of the UDF and other mass organizations, charging them with high treason.

72. Thus, *apartheid* has once again showed its hideous face and its true nature.

73. In a recent interview in Johannesburg, Bishop Desmond Tutu spoke about the plight and legitimate demands of black South Africans. The bishop was quoted as saying,

> "Will they hear, will white people hear, what we are trying to say? Please, all we are asking you to do is to recognize that we are humans too. When you scratch us, we bleed. When you tickle us, we laugh."

The winner of the 1984 Noble Peace Prize might have added, "When you shoot us, we die."

74. We believe Bishop Tutu. We never doubted him. We realized from its inception the evil and immoral character of the *apartheid* system in South Africa and the profound human degradation that follows from discrimination against a people only because of race.

75. In countries like my own, with a long historic tradition of respecting all persons irrespective of their race, creed or colour, and with a firm belief in the fundamental right of every human being to freedom, self-respect and dignity, *apartheid* has always been anathema. Denmark has continuously voiced its strong condemnation of the *apartheid* system and, in many concrete ways, demonstrated its unequivocal opposition to it.

76. Denmark has long held the view that sustained and increased international pressure against South Africa is paramount in efforts to convince the South African Government of the urgent need for a peaceful abolition of the *apartheid* system. We have particularly emphasized the necessity for the Security Council to adopt mandatory sanctions against South Africa and, not least, to strengthen the arms embargo.

77. In his recent speech at the opening of Parliament, the President of South Africa spoke about a new spirit of dialogue. Witnessing the latest wave of violence and repression in South Africa, which does not correspond with this pledge, the members of the Council and compassionate people all over the world have to ask the South African Government, "Will you never learn? Will you never learn that you cannot forever suppress the yearnings of a human being for the freedom to live where he wants, to express his opinion without restrictions and to

participate in the political processes shaping the future of his country, and thus his own destiny? Will you never learn that the continued oppression by a minority of a majority only because of race will eventually result in widespread violence and bloodshed? And will you never learn that this policy will jeopardize your own future as well as the future of all whites in South Africa?"

78. My Government is shocked by the recent events in South Africa and is deeply concerned at the arrest and the detention of prominent members of the UDF. The arrests, detentions and subsequent trials can only lead to increased political tension in a country so badly in need of dialogue among all racial groups. Not least because the Danish Government remains strongly committed to the peaceful dismantling of *apartheid*, we appeal to the Government of South Africa to release the leaders of the UDF as well as all other political prisoners.

79. We urgently request the South African Government to implement substantial reforms to meet the legitimate aspirations of the country's black majority before it is too late. The world community will never acquiesce in *apartheid*, and will not continue to be an idle bystander.

80. To achieve the peaceful abolition of *apartheid*, the opponents of that inhuman system must not let themselves be divided, but should build upon its unanimous rejection by the whole international community to bring increased and more effective international pressure to bear upon South Africa.

81. Mr. LING Qing (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): First of all, I warmly welcome you, Sir, an outstanding representative of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar, to participation in the work of the Council, and I sincerely congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency for this month. I am convinced that, with your talent and your years of experience with the United Nations you surely will be able to discharge successfully the important assignment entrusted to you.

82. I should also like to take this opportunity to express our appreciation to Mr. Krishnan for his endeavours and remarkable contributions during his presidency last month.

83. I wish also to extend our warm welcome to the new members and representatives in the Council this year.

84. Recently the South African racist régime once again cruelly suppressed the black people fighting against *apartheid*. It forced large numbers of black residents to move from their homes and dispatched armed police to crack down on the demonstrators, leaving over a dozen of them dead and hundreds of them wounded. The racist régime also carried out large-scale arrests in Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban simultaneously, detained almost the entire leadership of the UDF, a mass organization that seeks to safeguard the rights and interests of the people, and arbitrarily charged those leaders with high treason. This fresh act of persecution of the black people has further aggravated the situation in South Africa. The Chinese delegation strongly condemns the new crimes of wantonly arresting and killing black people being committed by the South African authorities and expresses its deep sympathy and support for the struggle of the South African people.

85. The South African authorities have repeatedly professed that they would carry out domestic reforms in an attempt to give people the false impression that they are going to effect gradual changes to the extremely unpopular *apartheid* system. However, the deeds of the Pretoria régime have sufficiently proved that racial discrimination and racial oppression have all along been the State policy of the régime. The so-called new constitution, which was promulgated only to consolidate the rule of a handful of racists, has brought no change whatsoever to the political status of the black majority of the population. The ultimate purpose of the so-called improvement of the living rights of the urban black residents is to deprive the black people of their basic rights as citizens, to dislodge them in large numbers from their homes and to confine them to their homelands or bantustans. The South African authorities have indicated that the long-jailed black leader Nelson Mandela may be freed only on condition that he would never again fight against *apartheid*.

86. The recent forced removal of black people and the arrests of a large number of public figures have further revealed the true face of the South African authorities. And now not only the black people, but also many just-minded people among the coloureds, people of Asian origin and white people as well, have joined the struggle against *apartheid*. The leaders of the UDF and some other prominent figures have been arrested and arbitrarily charged with treason only because they oppose racial discrimination. Opposition to *apartheid* is a crime, while stubbornly clinging to it is legal. Is this not clearly the perverse logic of the South African authorities?

87. The Chinese delegation firmly supports the communiqué on the situation in South Africa adopted on 6 March by the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries at its urgent meeting in New York [*S/17009, annex*]. It also firmly supports the draft resolution sponsored by Burkina Faso, Egypt and other countries. The Council should strongly condemn the criminal acts of the South African authorities in forcibly removing and savagely suppressing the innocent people in South Africa, demand that the South African authorities release immediately and unconditionally the leaders of the UDF and members of other mass organizations opposed to racial discrimination and *apartheid* and demand that Mr. Nelson Mandela and other black leaders under detention be released.

88. Mr. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): The request made by the Group of African States to the Security Council to convene an urgent meeting to consider the serious situation in South Africa reflects the serious concern of the overwhelming majority of States Members of the United Nations and, first and foremost of course, of

the African countries, at the further sharp deterioration of the situation in the southern part of the African continent. Recent events in South Africa cannot but evoke universal outrage and condemnation.

89. The development of events there in recent weeks has been characterized by severe repression, including the firing upon peaceful demonstrators protesting against their forced resettlement in bantustans and the arrests of prominent political officials of the UDF on trumped-up charges of high treason. The authorities of the racist régime in South Africa continued with impunity to flout wholesale the basic human rights of the indigenous population, which totals more than 20 million people. As is known, in South Africa *apartheid* is not only a policy; it is also an ideology, one that has been promoted to the rank of an official State policy.

90. For many years now, the General Assembly, the Security Council and other United Nations bodies have had frequent occasion to demand that an end be put to the system of *apartheid* in South Africa and that equal rights be given to the entire population of South Africa. The recently ended thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly was no exception in this regard. In resolution 39/2 of 28 September 1984, the General Assembly reiterated its rejection of the so-called new constitution in South Africa as null and void and condemned the Pretoria régime for defying relevant resolutions and decisions of the United Nations.

91. We cannot fail to note that the racist régime could not thus insolently ignore the demands of the international community if it did not enjoy the overt support of a number of Western countries. The United States and some of its allies in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, which are prepared from time to time gently to reprove the practice of *apartheid* verbally, in fact act as protectors of the Pretoria régime against the introduction of any effective international sanctions. As is well known, indignation at that policy continues to grow apace within the United States itself, let alone in other countries of the world.

92. In accordance with its fundamental foreign policy devoted to the complete and final elimination of colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism and *apartheid*, the Soviet Union has unfailingly supported United Nations resolutions that have declared the policy of *apartheid* pursued by the Pretoria régime to be a crime against humanity and incompatible with the Charter of the United Nations. That policy also constitutes a threat to international peace and security.

93. We believe that recent events in South Africa have once again underlined the urgency of demands that the Council adopt comprehensive mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter against the Pretoria régime, and also that all States faithfully observe the arms embargo established by the Council.

94. The Soviet delegation supports the draft resolution submitted by the non-aligned members of the Council. In our opinion, the Council should fully exert all its weight and authority to demand that an immediate end be put to the repression of those who are fighting against *apartheid*.

95. Mr. MOHAMMED (Trinidad and Tobago): As this is the first time that my delegation has spoken in the Council, we should like to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency for March. Your experience, expertise and diplomatic skills have been tested and proven during the past week, and we can look forward confidently to successful guidance of the Council's work during this month.

96. My delegation would also like to pay tribute to the representative of India, who presided over our deliberations during the month of February. This was done with the responsibility and skill that we have come to expect both from Mr. Krishnan personally and from the Government of India.

97. My delegation would like to acknowledge the very cordial and warm welcome that has been extended to us by members of the Council. We should like to assure members of the Council that we shall strive to uphold the principles and concepts of the Charter of the United Nations, and to state that we approach the responsibility of the Security Council with the importance that it merits.

98. Trinidad and Tobago is profoundly concerned about the escalation of repression and violence in South Africa since the imposition of the so-called new constitution in September of last year.

99. The non-white majority has refused to be hoodwinked by the régime's latest divide-and-rule tactic and has sought to express by peaceful means its opposition to the racist constitution and its desire for a truly democratic, non-racial society in South Africa. The Botha régime, however, has responded by calling in the army to assist the police in quelling these peaceful civilian protests. Scores of people have been killed, and by the end of 1984 an estimated 1,000 people had been arrested.

100. The determination and stoicism of the South African people have been further severely tested during the first few months of this year by the régime's crude carrot-and-stick approach. Having first made a clumsy attempt to lull suspicions by vague promises of relaxation of certain discriminatory legislation, the régime then proceeded to offer Mr. Nelson Mandela his freedom—in the twenty-third year of his imprisonment—provided he renounced violence as a means of effecting change in South Africa. Of course, Mr. Mandela proudly rejected this spurious offer, affirming that "only free men can negotiate" and calling upon the régime itself to renounce violence, dismantle *apartheid* and guarantee free political activity. This insidious attempt to discredit Mr. Mandela and sow dissension in the ranks of the liberation movement has merely served to increase his stature and to stiffen popular resistance to *apartheid*.

101. On 19 February, the régime arrested six prominent leaders of the UDF, including its President, Mrs. Alber-

tina Sisulu. It then proceeded to charge 16 UDF officials with high treason for their participation in a non-violent campaign for a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa. Trinidad and Tobago rejects and condemns this outrageous action and calls for the immediate and unconditional release of all South African patriots.

102. The international community has been unanimous in its condemnation of Pretoria's bantustanization policy, which is justifiably seen as one of the most dangerous and pernicious aspects of *apartheid*.

103. In recent weeks the régime has given an appalling indication of the lengths to which it will go in its unrelenting bid to accelerate the process of denationalizing and fragmenting the African majority. The violent campaign unleashed against the residents of Crossroads and other places because of their unwillingness to stand idly by and let their homes be bulldozed and submit to forcible relocation has caused the deaths of some 30 people. It is yet another indication of the régime's shocking contempt for the norms of civilized State practice, and further emphasizes its complete illegitimacy.

104. Trinidad and Tobago urges those with the necessary influence to indicate unequivocally their total disapproval of the régime's policies and put effective pressure on it so as to ensure an end to *apartheid* before violence and destruction spiral completely out of control.

105. Trinidad and Tobago is one of the sponsors of the draft resolution in document S/17013. We urge the Council to adopt it unanimously and thus send a clear message to the minority *apartheid* régime that the international community will not tolerate its continued persecution and repression of the South African people and that the Council demands the immediate and complete dismantlement of *apartheid* and the establishment of a non-racial, democratic society in South Africa.

106. Mr. OUDOVENKO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): Allow me first to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency and to express our conviction that your diplomatic experience and your profound devotion to the aims of the United Nations will help us resolve the urgent questions before the Council in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

107. I should also like to refer to the very high calibre of your predecessor in this post, the representative of India, Mr. Krishnan, which was demonstrated in his conduct of the work of the Council in February and to which I had occasion to refer in my previous statement.

108. Very little time has elapsed since the Council last considered the serious situation obtaining in South Africa and adopted resolution 556 (1984). Today we are once again reverting to this issue in the light of the sharp deterioration of the situation in South Africa.

109. The latest news from South Africa has once again confirmed that in their clashes with the anti-racist movement the authorities prefer to use force. This is indicated by the shooting of the peaceful demonstrators at Crossroads. There are widespread searches and arrests; terror and repression once again rule the roost. With the worsening situation in South Africa, there is a growing threat to international peace and security.

110. For the oppressed majority of the population of South Africa, for the African countries and for the entire world, it is perfectly obvious that no cosmetic reforms can in any way alter the criminal and inhuman essence of *apartheid*.

111. This is openly referred to in Security Council resolutions 554 (1984) and 556 (1984) and in General Assembly resolutions 38/11 and 39/2, in which the so-called new constitution in South Africa is rejected out of hand. And this undoubtedly is understood by those who did not support those resolutions. However, in pursuit of their selfish ends in southern Africa, they are reluctant to give up the policy of comprehensive co-operation with the racist régime.

112. It is precisely because they can rely on this co-operation offered by the United States and other Western countries and because they are safe from sanctions that the racists in Pretoria are brutally repressing the indigenous population, have not ceased their threats and blackmail against the independent African countries and continue their illegal occupation of Namibia and their exploitation of its wealth.

113. The serious and genuinely explosive situation prevailing in the southern part of the African continent requires decisive steps on the part of the Council. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR fully shares the concern expressed by the Group of African States and considers very timely their having raised the whole question of the situation in South Africa for consideration by the Council. We believe that the United Nations, and first and foremost the Security Council, can and should take effective steps against South Africa, including the measures envisaged in Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, in order to force the Pretoria régime to give up the system of *apartheid*. It is essential that all States strictly observe the embargo on any arms trade with South Africa. The Security Council should take steps to put an immediate end to the terror that is being perpetrated by the racists against the oppressed people of South Africa fighting for their rights. This requires a united will and concerted action on the part of all members of the Council and the entire international community.

114. The Ukrainian SSR reiterates its solidarity with the valiant fighters against *apartheid* for freedom and independence in South Africa, and it decisively supports their just struggle. In view of this fundamental position of ours, the Ukrainian SSR supports the draft resolution introduced by the non-aligned countries and will vote in favour of it.

115. Mr. BASSOLE (Burkina Faso) (*interpretation from French*): The delegation of Burkina Faso is deeply disturbed at the sharp quickening over the last few weeks of the deadly cycle of violence against the opponents of the

apartheid régime in South Africa. Yesterday at Sharpeville and Sebokeng, today at Crossroads, and tomorrow, no doubt, elsewhere in South Africa, the forces of repression of the racist Pretoria régime are doing their utmost to drown in blood the legitimate aspirations of the oppressed black majority to freedom, justice and the building of a united, non-racial and democratic society in the country.

116. This tragedy, which is unfolding before our very eyes, is based on a familiar logic deriving from the odious policy of *apartheid* which has been promoted to a system of government in South Africa. As long as that system remains in force, and as long as there are those in the world who are inclined to indulge it, to justify it or to explain away its excesses of all kinds, human rights will continue to be trampled underfoot in South Africa; arbitrary arrests, imprisonments, killings and what really amounts to the genocide of the defenceless population of South Africa will continue.

117. It is therefore incumbent upon the international community, and first and foremost the Security Council, to condemn unequivocally and resolutely this ignominious system and the atrocious practices the Pretoria régime inflicts virtually every day on the black majority.

118. Through a policy of accelerated bantustanization, Pretoria has been doing violence to one of the most sacred rights of the South African black majority—the right to live in freedom and happiness on one's own land, the land of one's ancestors. Through the effects of that policy, more than half of the black population is today confined in the homelands; they have thereby lost their citizenship and consequently their rights and their share in the immense resources of their country.

119. Those who now are stubbornly refusing to hear or listen to the cries of distress that reach us so ominously from the country of *apartheid* should not be astonished if tomorrow they see South Africa as a whole plunged into a huge blood-bath. The harbingers of this general explosion are already clearly to be seen: the South African people, determined to struggle against humiliation and to defend its rights, has carried the revolt into the countryside and the remotest villages. Neither arbitrary arrests, nor imprisonment or fabricated charges, nor charges of high treason against the leaders of the organization of the masses, nor the prohibition of the liberation movements and the banishment of their leaders, nor the bloody crimes committed by the Pretoria régime will halt the progress of the South African people towards restoration of its dignity and its freedom.

120. It is therefore about time that the Pretoria leaders at last heeded the voice of reason and came to adopt a realistic attitude towards the current problems of the country. Stubbornly insisting on following the policy of the ostrich and seeking to deny what is perfectly evident would lead to a conflagration, of which no one, even the Council, can predict the consequences.

121. Nothing in the present attitude of the racist Pretoria régime suggests that any gleam of hope can be expected in the evolution of the internal situation in South Africa. Recent events at Crossroads are evidence of this. Moreover, that régime has been sustaining focal points of tension and crisis in the whole of southern Africa by denying independence to Namibia and by destabilizing the neighbouring countries, which seek only to live in peace and security.

122. By virtue of its behaviour South Africa has outlawed itself from the international community, a community that must take appropriate measures to bring the Pretoria rulers to see reason. These measures include those contained in the draft resolution now before the Council, which are strictly a minimum. My delegation hopes they will win the unanimous support of the members of the Council.

123. Mr. SHAKER (Egypt) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The Ambassador of Guinea, Chairman of the African Group for this month, spoke on behalf of all of us Africans. The representative of the United Republic of Tanzania, on behalf of the Chairman of the Organization of African Unity, also spoke for all of us. The representative of India, which is the Chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, spoke on behalf of all of us in the non-aligned countries. The Acting Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* also spoke in this debate. Furthermore, we have heard statements by the representatives of a number of States members and non-members of the Security Council, who have unanimously condemned the practices of the Pretoria régime. Nevertheless, as an African member of this Council and as the representative of a non-aligned country, I cannot remain silent on this important question and must add my voice to those of previous speakers.

124. I am gratified by this unanimous expression of solidarity, because the cause of the indigenous Africans of South Africa is a cause of concern not only to Africa but to everyone. It is a cause of liberation and independence, a question of human rights, a question of preserving human dignity and liberty.

125. What is now happening in the township of Crossroads—and, like the representative of India, I would focus attention on this name which is now added to the honour list of centres of resistance against *apartheid*—is but another link in the chain of the continuous struggle in South Africa between the black majority, the opponents of *apartheid*, on the one hand, and the racist Pretoria Government, on the other. It also constitutes a further step by the Pretoria Government in the application of its policy to remove the blacks from areas that the régime has designated for whites and to relocate them in bantustans designated for the blacks. The aim of that policy is to achieve the final objective: the creation of a white South Africa, in which the blacks are allowed for one sole purpose, to provide cheap labour for white-owned enterprises.

126. The violence with which the Pretoria régime reacted to the opposition of the blacks to the attempted relocation from Crossroads and the large numbers of dead and

wounded which resulted from that opposition accords—as does everything that has happened and is still happening—with the philosophy of that racist régime, which is based on violence and repression and whose purpose is to impose its inhuman policy, which has been repudiated by the black majority in Africa and by all the peoples of the world.

127. In a further attempt to suppress any opposition to the *apartheid* policy, the Pretoria régime arrested a large number of members of the United Democratic Front (UDF) and charged them with high treason, for which they could be sentenced to death.

128. As a member of the African Group, as the Chairman of that Group in February, and as one of the non-aligned members of the Security Council, Egypt participated in the formulation of the draft resolution now before the Security Council. All the elements of the draft resolution are extremely important. In this regard, the delegation of Egypt wishes to make it clear that it attaches major importance to the withdrawal of the charges of high treason instituted against the UDF officials and to the demand for their immediate and unconditional release. Indeed, the international community has already repeatedly expressed its rejection of the legal and intellectual basis of South Africa's practices—that is, all the abhorrent aspects of the policy of *apartheid*.

129. We are very hopeful that the Security Council will succeed today in shouldering its responsibilities and that it will make crystal clear to the South African régime that the entire world rejects the policy of *apartheid* pursued by that régime, does not accept any of the results of that policy and stands by the side of the heroic people of South Africa and its leadership in their opposition to the policy. The Pretoria régime must understand that anything it does will be to no avail. It is a decadent régime and must be given a clear message by this Council that the struggle against the régime will continue and indeed become stronger.

130. Mr. de KEMOULARIA (France) (*interpretation from French*): As this is the first time I have had an opportunity to speak at a formal meeting of the Council during the month of March, I should like to convey to you, Sir, my cordial congratulations on your accession to the presidency. You demonstrate human and diplomatic qualities to which it is a pleasure to pay a tribute.

131. My congratulations go also to your predecessor the representative of India, our colleague Mr. Krishnan, on the competence and dedication to the cause of the international community that he showed in his conduct of our work.

132. I shall confine myself to some brief remarks on the question now before the Council, on which the constant position taken by France is well known.

133. First, I recall that France unreservedly condemns the policy of *apartheid* in South Africa, the racial discrimination there and the separate development that leads to the establishment of bantustans and forced displacements of populations. This point was made by the French Minister for Foreign Affairs in the Special Committee against *Apartheid* on 9 October last; and I would draw attention here also to the following words spoken recently by Mr. Roland Dumas, our new Minister for Foreign Affairs, in the French Parliament, that "*Apartheid* is an unacceptable and abominable doctrine, and France has never ceased to condemn it."

134. The South African Government is wrong if it expects to resolve the problems posed by the constitutional reforms which leave untouched the foundations of the *apartheid* system, as can be seen from the violence carried out by the police. Hence, France can only denounce the brutal repression that has taken place at Crossroads in the suburbs of Cape Town, which has resulted in a great number of victims among the demonstrators protesting against threats of forced displacement.

135. The elimination of the policy of *apartheid* and civil peace in South Africa must be obtained through dialogue. In this respect, my delegation is pleased to see that the draft resolution refers in a realistic manner to the possibilities of a peaceful settlement in South Africa and to a discussion of the country's future.

136. The French Government—which very much hopes to see such developments take place—wishes to express its concern to see the release of Nelson Mandela, the historic leader of the ANC, who has been imprisoned for nearly 25 years. For the same reasons, France firmly denounces the recent wave of arrests mainly of leaders of the UDF. This can only delay the opening of the genuine dialogue my country earnestly wishes. As we have done in the cases of Security Council resolutions 554 (1984) and 556 (1984) and General Assembly resolution 39/2, France will vote in favour of the draft resolution now before us and will continue to denounce, without reservation, the régime of *apartheid*.

137. Mr. KASEMSRI (Thailand): Since this is the first time that my delegation has intervened in the debate, permit me to convey to you, Sir, our sincere congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of March. It is indeed fitting that the present item comes before the Council under your presidency, as your country and you are recognized as one of the leading nations and personalities of Africa. My delegation is confident that your undoubted experience, diplomatic skill and wisdom will assist the Council in its deliberations on this and other important matters pending before it.

138. Allow me also to pay a well-deserved tribute to your distinguished predecessor, Mr. Krishnan of India, for the skilful and dedicated manner in which he conducted the Council's proceedings last month.

139. My delegation learned of the tragic massacre at Crossroads with shock and dismay. Moreover, the news of the arrests of leaders of the UDF further indicates the inhumane extent of the abhorrent policy and practices of

apartheid, as well as the moral bankruptcy and perfidy of the racist Pretoria régime.

140. Thailand's position with regard to *apartheid* has been clear and consistent. My Government condemns it in the strongest possible terms, and unreservedly supports every means to bring about its dismantling as soon as possible, in accordance with the principles and purposes of the Charter and in keeping with the relevant United Nations resolutions.

141. My delegation is of the view that any further delay in taking appropriate measures to remedy the situation arising from *apartheid* will not only aggravate the racial conflict in South Africa but also exacerbate tension in South Africa and threaten international peace and security. Moreover, my delegation notes with grave concern that the process of bantustanization, which aims at uprooting blacks from their homes against their will and resettling them in the barren wastelands of South Africa, and the imposition of the so-called constitutional reforms by the Pretoria régime, continue to defy the Charter and relevant resolutions of the United Nations as well as all civilized norms and democratic principles.

142. My delegation strongly condemns the Pretoria régime for the killing of defenceless black people who protested against their forced removal from Crossroads and also strongly condemns the arbitrary arrests of those who oppose the *apartheid* régime. In this connection, my delegation demands that the Pretoria régime release unconditionally and without undue delay those who have been arrested, as well as withdraw the charges of high treason against those political prisoners.

143. Thailand in fact has no diplomatic relations with the Pretoria régime and has voluntarily imposed a trade embargo against it since 1978. Thailand therefore shares fully the legitimate concerns of the international community on this matter. That is why my delegation is gratified by the convening of this meeting, at the request of the Group of African States, and will vote in favour of the draft resolution.

144. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): At the request of a number of delegations, I intend, with the consent of the Council, to suspend the meeting briefly so that consultations can be held on the draft resolution. Since there is no objection, we shall proceed accordingly and the meeting will resume at 6 p.m.

The meeting was suspended at 5.50 p.m. and resumed at 6.35 p.m.

145. Mr. ARIAS STELLA (Peru) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, since this is the first time I have spoken in the Council in 1985, I should like, on my own behalf, on behalf of my delegation and on behalf of the Government of Peru, to welcome the new members of the Council and the new heads of delegation that have joined us this year.

146. Likewise, on behalf of my delegation I should like most cordially to greet and congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of your very sensitive duties for this month. The skill and diligent manner in which you have conducted the work of the Council in the last few days guarantees the success of your undertaking.

147. We should like to join in the congratulations that have been extended to the representative of India on the excellence of his performance as President last month.

148. In keeping with the mandate under the Constitution of my country, which rejects all forms of discrimination, and also in keeping with my country's tradition, the delegation of Peru has in the past rejected, and will continue to reject, *apartheid*. At every opportunity when this subject has come before the Council, we have always expressed our solidarity with efforts to abolish that hateful system from the face of the earth.

149. Today my delegation shares the profound concern of the international community in the face of the aggravation of the situation in South Africa. We believe that the time has come seriously to attempt to put an end to the murders, the arbitrary detentions, the accusations of high treason against leaders of the UDF and other opponents of the *apartheid* régime. For those reasons, along with the other members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries that are members of the Council, we have sponsored the draft resolution now before the Council for consideration, which we hope will be adopted unanimously by the Council.

150. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is the representative of South Africa. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

151. Mr. von SCHIRNDING (South Africa): Permit me on behalf of the South African delegation to convey to you, Sir, our very best wishes on your assumption of the presidency.

152. It would be difficult to envisage a more cynical abuse of the powers of the Council than the convening of this meeting. It has been irregularly convened, in blatant contravention of the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations which clearly and unambiguously precludes intervention in the domestic affairs of a Member State.

153. However, setting aside once again the provisions of the Charter, the sponsors of the draft resolution have chosen to press their vendetta against South Africa at a time when, as never before in the history of my country, the opportunities for increasing goodwill and cooperation between all the peoples and communities in our complex, multifaceted country have been so dramatically enhanced. But clearly, as the draft resolution demonstrates, its sponsors have once again chosen—predictably—to ignore the truth and instead to press on with their desperate and irrational campaign against my country and its peoples.

154. The draft resolution before the Council is nothing less than an astounding distortion of events in South Africa. We know, of course, from past experience that the sponsors of draft resolutions of this nature do not allow demonstrable and verifiable facts to obscure their prejudices and motives—indeed, a brief look at the way some of their own countries are governed is sufficient evidence of the schizophrenic world in which they live, not to mention the misery to which their peoples are subjected. But in proposing this latest draft resolution they have reached new heights of absurdity. They may perhaps derive some satisfaction from the theatrics provided by an occasion such as this, but they delude themselves if they believe that misrepresentation of the truth will make any impression or have any influence on the realities of our world.

155. The draft resolution purports to suggest that opponents of the South African Government are killed or arbitrarily arrested on charges of high treason for nothing more than their participation in a so-called non-violent campaign for a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa. As if that were not ridiculous enough, the draft resolution further accuses my country of an orchestrated campaign of deception and of violent repression.

156. Surely, the sponsors of this draft resolution do not expect to be taken seriously. The charges which they level against my country could more appropriately be levelled against some of their own Governments. However, the draft resolution has been submitted, and I address myself therefore to those members of the Council who genuinely desire to be better informed on the issues involved.

157. Reference has been made this afternoon to Crossroads and the events which recently occurred there. In order to put this matter into perspective, we should bear in mind that the phenomenon of population drift to the cities, the resultant squatter camps and their concomitant problems have been, and indeed continue to be, experienced by almost all developing countries. The Republic of South Africa has not been exempt from this problem. Indeed, the Crossroads squatter camp is but one manifestation of the problem. There are far worse manifestations in Brazil, in Ethiopia, in India, in Mexico and in Nigeria, to name but a few countries.

158. Most of he squatters at Crossroads come from regions hundreds of kilometres away from Cape Town. We have not been able to stem the human drift across our borders to the metropolitan and rural areas of South Africa. Indeed, as I have informed the Council before, there are more than one and a half million foreign workers who voluntarily, and in most cases illegally, cross our borders in search of a better life. Unlike the policy of the Soviet Union and its satellites, South Africa's policy is not to imprison its citizens within its borders. On the contrary, South Africa's problem is how to cope with the millions who seek—by whatever means—to enter our country in order to enjoy the benefits which our neighbours cannot provide. If the situation in South Africa even remotely resembled that described in the draft resolution before the Council, we would obviously not have this problem. I believe that my Government has the right to demand from the Council an answer to the following questions: why, if the circumstances in South Africa are as described in the draft resolution, do one and a half million Africans from neighbouring States cross our borders? Why do they come to this racist cauldron to be oppressed and repressed and dehumanized?

159. South Africa is not proud of Crossroads. We could have rid ourselves of the problem through the type of action which has been employed elsewhere in Africa to solve the squatter problem. We could have sent in the bulldozers, as has been done in many countries in Africa; or we could have consigned the squatters to so-called re-education camps, as has also been done in countries in Africa. But we have not done so because of our concern for these unfortunate people in their search for a better existence. Indeed, instead of being a symbol of oppression, Crossroads, in all its squalor, should be seen rather as a symbol of compassion. It has become a refuge for 80,000 destitute people in a short period of 10 years, people driven there through poverty, economic recession and drought.

160. Over the past few years, a great deal has been done to provide housing for all segments of our population. The problems of Crossroads have been tackled through a two-fold programme. The South African Government has invested generously in the countries of origin of the squatters to help develop the economies of those countries and, in co-operation with the Governments concerned, it launched a special employment assistance programme in those countries in an effort to stem the tide to urban centres such as Cape Town. At the same time, my Government embarked on an urgent urban renewal programme aimed at the improvement of the quality of life in problem areas where people were living in conditions such as those prevailing at Crossroads.

161. In an effort to solve the housing problems in the Cape Town area, my Government decided on the building of a new urban area as part of a programme of urban renewal and to promote orderly development. The new town is called Khayelitsha, a Xhosa word meaning "New Home". It is the alternative to a life of squalor and filth, a plastic shanty town, unhygienic conditions and hopelessness. The South African Government is proud of its contribution to the improvement of the quality of life of so many thousands of persons.

162. The South African Government has invested close to $50 million on the development of Khayelitsha; 5,000 core houses and the necessary community services are at present nearing completion; furthermore, $6 million has been spent on the development of an area set aside for unconventional housing. This area makes provision for residential plots, roads, sufficient open spaces and such amenities as schools, shops, a well-equipped clinic and subsidized transport facilities. Nearly 8,000 stands are being prepared. The development of Khayelitsha affords the inhabitants of Crossroads the opportunity of a better standard of life.

163. As regards Crossroads, it should be emphasized that the inhabitants there live under dangerously overpopulated conditions where every open space, including roads, has been built over with shacks, with the result that the rendering of essential services, such as refuse removal, ambulance and fire-brigade services, is impossible. These unacceptable social conditions threaten the health and safety of the community and have given rise to a reign of crime and terror, including extortion, intimidation and violence, which is waged by competing factions and which is making the life of the majority of the inhabitants intolerable.

164. In spite of the Government's assurances, unfounded rumours were circulated among the inhabitants of Crossroads to the effect that a mass forced removal programme would be carried out without any prior notice being given. These unfounded rumours gave rise to an understandable panic situation. Riots ensued during which police were attacked by stone-throwing mobs and were fired upon with live ammunition, regrettably compelling the police to return the fire. My Government profoundly regrets the loss of life and is actively pursuing a plan of action aimed at avoiding a repetition of those tragic events.

165. It is the South African Government's conviction that the large majority of the inhabitants of Crossroads are peace-loving people. The vast majority acted calmly and responsibly during the riots. The acts of violence were instigated by a relatively small group of agitators.

166. The South African Government has invited representatives of resident groups and factions at Crossroads and related areas to participate in negotiations with a view to an acceptable resolution of the problems. My Government is prepared to consider, *inter alia*, the possibility of the proper upgrading and urban development of Crossroads and other areas. We have invited the leaders to come forward and, together with the Government, find a solution to this difficult problem.

167. It should be obvious from what I have said that the South African Government is endeavouring to solve the problem in the most humane way possible—in contrast to the many countries, Members of the United Nations, which handle their problems of squatting and urbanization in a ruthless and callous manner.

168. South Africa also stands accused of arbitrarily arresting people and charging them with high treason for their opposition to the Government's policies. Here again we are confronted by a gross violation of the truth. South Africans are not, and cannot be, arrested and prosecuted for opposition to the Government. A number of political parties, organizations, individuals and newspapers stridently voice their opposition on a daily basis. They do so freely, openly and legally, in the same way as in the minority of countries of the world which permit their citizens to exercise these rights. I challenge the Council to appoint a committee of inquiry into freedom of expression in all countries of the world, should my assessment this evening be questioned.

169. The persons referred to in the draft resolution were not arrested on the instructions of the South African Government. The decision was taken by an attorney-general—who is not a political appointee, but a senior official of the Department of Justice—after studying a dossier submitted to him by the police, who had conducted a lengthy investigation into the case. There was certainly nothing arbitrary about it. It was the result of due legal process obtaining in less than half the countries represented around this table. Those persons have not been arrested for their political beliefs or their membership of any organization. They have been charged with specific acts allegedly committed in contravention of the law, and they will be tried in an open court of law where the onus will be on the State to prove its case.

170. Unlike the majority of United Nations Members, South Africa has every reason to take pride in the independence, integrity and impartiality of its courts. The South African Government cannot interfere with the legal process, and those with any knowledge of that process in South Africa will know that my Government will respect and abide by the judgement of the Supreme Court, whatever that might be.

171. It is only in a handful of countries that a trial of this nature could be conducted in an objective and just manner, with the accused being afforded every legal facility and advantage. Indeed, looking at some of the sponsors of the draft resolution before us, one is prompted to wonder how such a trial might be conducted in their countries. Indeed one wonders whether they would bother to hold a trial at all. Their demand for the immediate and unconditional release of those accused in South Africa is therefore understandable, for they have scant respect for the due process of law.

172. A call is also made in the draft resolution for the release of Mr. Nelson Mandela. The Council will be aware that Mr. Mandela has been offered his freedom on condition that he denounces violence as a political instrument. Thus far Mr. Mandela has apparently refused to accept this condition. He must therefore personally accept the responsibility for his further imprisonment.

173. I am sure that the representatives of the more responsible States members of the Council will agree that what I have said is sufficient to demonstrate that the draft resolution before us is fraudulent and malicious, in both substance and intent.

174. It is indeed ironic, at a time when South Africa has embarked upon major constitutional reform and development, at a time when the State President and his Government are building upon the pattern of consultation and negotiation with leaders of all population groups in South Africa, of all races and colours and creeds, on the basis of peaceful and orderly constitutional reform, that South Africa is confronted with a series of outrageous and ridiculous accusations in the Security Council.

175. It is a fact that as South Africa becomes stronger and more stable and more prosperous, and more success-

ful in reconciling the diverse demands of its domestic political order, the accusations levelled against my country become more hysterical, more irrational and more irresponsible. As the Foreign Minister of my country stated recently, there is a majority of countries in the United Nations to which a peaceful solution to South Africa's problems is simply anathema. They desire and instigate conflict.

176. The draft resolution before the Council this evening is no more than symptomatic of this increasingly desperate drive. It can, perhaps ironically, be considered to be a compliment to the success of my Government's reform policies, but in the process the United Nations is rendering itself increasingly irrelevant and, I am saddened to say, little more than an object of contempt.

177. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is the representative of Democratic Yemen, who wishes to make a statement in his capacity as Chairman of the Group of Arab States for the month of March. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

178. Mr. AL-ALFI (Democratic Yemen) (*interpretation from Arabic*): It gives me great pleasure, Sir, to be addressing the Security Council under your wise presidency. Your represent a friendly country, Madagascar, which shares with my country goals for the attainment of which we struggle together in the interest of the security and stability of our peoples and in the interest of the maintenance of international peace and security. Our confidence in your ability successfully to guide the work of the Security Council for the month of March is enhanced by your well-known long experience, expertise and integrity.

179. I wish also to convey our appreciation and gratitude to Mr. Krishnan, the representative of friendly India, for the way in which he conducted the Council's business in February, which confirmed the ability for which he is so well known.

180. I am pleased to be participating, in my capacity as Chairman of the Group of Arab States in the United Nations for the current month, in the present Security Council debate on the situation in South Africa, a situation which is the result of the persistence and intensification of the policy of *apartheid* pursued by the racist régime of South Africa. That régime adds new crimes to those already perpetrated, crimes such as murder, oppression, uprooting and arbitrary arrests, committed against the indigenous population and against the patriotic militants in South Africa, whose only crime is to be struggling for the liberation of their land, for the exercise of their legitimate national rights, and for the elimination of the policy of *apartheid*, a policy rejected by the international community, which has on numerous occasions qualified it as a crime against humanity.

181. There is no question but that our participation in this debate is an expression of our firm belief in the cultural, historic and geographic ties and shared experiences indissolubly linking the Arab and African peoples in the liberation struggle and in resistance against racist settler colonialism, as well as in the struggle for the social and economic development of our respective peoples. Those ties were manifested by the convening of the Conference of Arab Solidarity with the Struggle for Liberation in Southern Africa, held at Tunis from 7 to 9 August 1984 under the auspices of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* in co-operation with the League of Arab States. Those ties were further manifested by the Declaration and resolutions adopted by that Conference.

182. Perhaps the most sincere affirmation of this African-Arab solidarity is to be found in the Conference's Declaration, which stressed that *apartheid* and all other forms of racism must be totally eliminated from this globe, that no adjustments or reforms of racism are acceptable and that there can be no compromise with racism. The Declaration further affirmed that any support, direct or indirect, for the manoeuvres of the Pretoria régime to delay genuine independence to the people of Namibia, or to dispossess the African majority in South Africa, or to intimidate independent African States, is not only a hostile act against the continent of Africa, but a challenge to the Arab States and people and the international community.

183. Over the years, the Council has considered the crimes perpetrated against the indigenous population by the racist régime of South Africa, and, with regard to those crimes, has adopted a series of resolutions, including resolutions 473 (1980), 554 (1984) and 556 (1984). Today, having been informed of developments in the grave situation in South Africa, the Council is called upon to bring about the implementation of those resolutions and to take immediate effective steps to put an end to the injustice and suffering inflicted upon the people of South Africa as a result of the policy of *apartheid*. The Council is further called upon to take practical steps leading ultimately to the eradication of *apartheid*.

184. We are fully aware of the magnitude of the suffering afflicting the peoples of South Africa and Namibia because of the large-scale terrorist practices and policies being pursued by the racist régime in South Africa, practices and policies that take numerous forms and that affect old people, women and children in the civilian population.

185. Our Arab peoples in Palestine, in Lebanon and in the Syrian Golan Heights are facing the terrorist practices and policies being pursued by the racist Zionist régime, practices and policies that are no different in method from those being implemented by the racist South African régime. Perhaps the best proof of this is the fact that the Security Council is at this very moment considering the question of the crimes committed by the Israeli occupation forces against the Lebanese people in southern Lebanon.

186. We need not dwell on the close alliance that exists between the two racist régimes in Pretoria and Tel Aviv or on their common hostility to the freedom of the African and Arab peoples. The growing co-operation between

those two racist régimes in the cultural, economic, nuclear and military fields constitutes a threat to the Arab and African peoples and States as well as a threat to international peace and security. Resistance to both these racist régimes affirms the unity of the struggle of the African and Arab States and peoples aimed at liberating South Africa, Namibia, Palestine, southern Lebanon and the Golan Heights.

187. We strongly condemn all the policies and practices pursued by the racist régime in South Africa against the indigenous population and that régime's manoeuvres designed to impede full independence for Namibia in accordance with Security Council resolution 435 (1978). We also condemn the acts of aggression, destabilization and terrorism that are repeatedly committed by that régime against the front-line States and independent African States. We feel that the policy of constructive engagement pursued by the American Administration *vis-à-vis* the Pretoria régime has damaged the vital interests of Africa just as that Administration's strategic co-operation with Israel has inflicted damage on the vital interests of the Arab world.

188. While reiterating our unswerving support for the peoples of Namibia and South Africa under the leadership of their national liberation movements in their legitimate struggle to free their territories and eradicate racial discrimination, we fully support the just African demands reflected in the draft resolution now before the Council, which calls for the Security Council to take practical steps to bring about the immediate cessation of South Africa's policy of uprooting the indigenous African population from their homes, the termination of the Pretoria régime's arbitrary arrests of patriotic fighters in South Africa and the guaranteeing of the release of all political prisoners from the gaols of the racist régime.

189. We also call for the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the Pretoria régime, in accordance with Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, and for an end to the continuous opposition by permanent Western members of the Security Council to the imposition of such sanctions in order to enable the peoples of southern Africa to wipe out racial discrimination. At the same time, we call for a cessation of all forms of co-operation being maintained by the Western States and Israel with the racist régime in South Africa that enable and encourage it to persist in its crimes against the indigenous population.

190. We believe that the fulfilment of those demands would be a concrete translation of the will of the international community as embodied in the many resolutions adopted by the Security Council, the General Assembly and other international forums.

The meeting rose at 7.20 p.m.

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